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tridges, bearing what is called a "steel" point, are considered superior to soft point shells. 411
The former are said to kill quicker and this especially recommends them for use against an 413
animal like the grizzly bear. "Go right clean through," Nitle said, explaining the force of
the steel tipped cartridge. A soft point shell, on the other hand, may be stopped if it strikes
bone. It is understood that the point of the cartridge must be neither too long nor too
heavy, else it will lose in distance, dropping low. Beyond this there is no interest in ballistics.

Constant watchfulness is exercised in the handling of guns. A loaded gun will never be 411
used to test ice or as a walking stick nor are .22's kept around camp with a loaded chamber.
Fourteen year old Donald Sam expressed disapproval of the ethnographer keeping a loaded
.22 in the cabin. "What for you load gun?" he demanded. Asked if this was not good sense,
he replied: "Yeah, no good."

Most young men are capable of making repairs on a gun, such as adjusting the sights or 411
sawing down the barrel and constructing new sights. Testing the firing power, range, and 524
trajectory of rifles is one of the reasons for target practice. Much of this firing, however, is
not designed to test the weapon but rather the shooter's marksmanship. Target practice is
never seriously competitive. Girls were not observed to use guns for this purpose in camp.
According to Old Man, however, girls are apt to target shoot when in the bush. Older
men tend to condemn this shooting as wasteful. Old Man mildly scolded Donald Sam for
target practice. "What you want to shoot water for? You can't eat water." But both Old
Man and Old Eron admitted to target shooting in their youth.

Tools. Certain essential tools are found in every household. Women's tools include 412
scissors, needles, thimbles, and steel awls. A married woman generally owns her own ax, 413
butcher knife, file, and tanning tools. The latter include a metal scraper, used to remove hair 281
from moosehide, and a skin softener. Scrapers are manufactured by men from discarded files.
The handle of the file is removed and the metal pounded flat on both ends. The flaring ends
are then bent in opposite directions and sharpened. The center of the tool is wrapped in
cloth or moosehide to provide a grip. The skin softener is prepared from a piece of green
wood eighteen inches long and about three inches in diameter. The surface is rounded and
smoothed along most of the stick. One end is split and a thin stone, about three inches long
and chipped to a thin edge on one side, is inserted. This end is then bound tight with a
strip of canvas or moosehide and baked with cord. Men's tools include the long handled ax,
knife, hammer, awl, T-square, drill, plane, and file.

Each ax keeps its own tools in repair and cutting tools like the ax, knife, and scissors 412
are always found well sharpened. Sharpening is done with a six or eight inch file, care being 413
taken to always sharpen blades on sides in such a manner as to avoid a ridge and secure a
gently tapering thinness which will assure a deep cut and prevent dangerous glancing.
Certain tools are found in almost every winter settlement and may be used by both sexes or
by more than one family: the one man crosscut, whip, and Swedish type back saws, shovel,
zoke, pick, and mattock. Ownership of a carpenter's rule or measuring tape was not observed.
Men sometimes make measuring sticks out of a straight length of willow. This is 504
sand off sharply at one end and laid against the object to be measured, the sharply cut end
against one end of the object. At the opposite end of the object the stick is notched and
again sharply cut off. The size of the pole now corresponds to the object measured and is

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much longer than those found on toboggans. Instead of fitting on the rear of the conveyance, the handlebars of a sleigh extend about halfway to the front of the vehicle where they are screwed in place. A lashing of babiche runs along each side of the sleigh body and is used for tying down the load. Shafts are employed with the dog harness. These are cut from green spruce poles, about six feet long and three inches in their greatest diameter. They are attached to the sleigh by means of babiche. The line passes through a pair of holes drilled in the most forward stanchion on each side of the sleigh and through corresponding holes drilled at the lower end of each shaft.

Sleighs are packed the same way as toboggans and their management follows similar principles. When not in use they stand on one side or else are stored on sleigh racks. When left standing with the runners in the snow, ice forms which must be knocked off before the vehicle can be used.

Toy sleds, about three or four feet long, are played with by children around the winter settlements.

Foot travel is the commonest form of overland summer travel, although some Nahane Indian children and women ride horses when long distances must be covered. In winter, children from five or six years of age generally walk, while younger children are packed on the mother's back or else ride in sleighs and toboggans. No particular type of foot-gear is regarded as most suitable for land travel in summer, although moccasins are preferred for hunting. In winter moccasins are always worn and, under these, snowshoes.

Snowshoes have several functions. By relieving the strain of plodding through deep snow and the problem of slipping on an unevenly packed trail, they reduce fatigue in winter travel. They also facilitate travel, since a person can go faster on snowshoes than by plodding through deep snow unaided. Finally these aids are necessary in breaking trail for dogs, and therefore increase the daily distance which these animals can cover.

Snowshoes are of two types. The first, used for hunting and trapping, generally equals the wearer's height in length and is about a foot wide. These are used when a man desires to travel cross country as rapidly as possible, the size of the webbed area preventing him from sinking too deeply into the snow. While such "big snowshoes" are known, their use was not observed among the Upper Liard Indians during the period of field work. The second type is used in breaking trail for dogs and vehicles and for hunting or trapping. Their length is also apportioned to the height of the wearer, a five foot man generally wearing snowshoes about three feet long and ten inches wide. Left and right foot snowshoes are recognized, the greatest curve of the wood being on the outside of the foot. Snowshoe frames are prepared by men and the panels are almost always filled by women. The details of lacing and of the foot lashing follow the style which has been traditional since aboriginal times and will not be described here.

In contrast to what has been said for other areas,* the Kaska Indian tends to walk on

* A detailed description of putting on, walking, and turning with snowshoes will be found in Osgood, [illegible], Ethnical Culture [illegible], [illegible]. The picture he gives there is in complete agreement with what was noted among the Kaska. Personal use of snowshoes crowded that is taken no more than two or three hours to be taken used to them in walking. Learning to turn takes longer time, and a number of days are required before their presence on the foot seems to be consciously noted. So far as their indispensability is concerned, there can be no question.

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857 231 them, and sometimes inflict blows without cause. Horses are also plagued and teased by boys whenever the opportunity presents itself. This sport leads to punishment when it results in complaints to parents from the animals' owners, who fear that the teasing is making the horses too shy. Older boys, from ten into adolescence, take keen delight in riding bareback along the river road and directing their mounts into a cluster of girls.

857 529 From five to six boys often make crude rolling toys out of the cover of a vacuum tin. The disc is nailed to a willow or poplar stick and the nail bent where it emerges from the other side (Plate 10, a). The child runs pushing the wheel before him. Youngsters try to cut thin brush with axes, explaining that they are cutting trail. In winter children, ranging in age from five to late adolescence, enjoy sliding down cutbanks to the frozen river on toboggans or small sleighs made by older uncles or parents. Only the bitterest cold interrupts this sport. By seven or eight, boys make their own slingshots, to use in shooting at trees and birds. Boys of twelve are sometimes seen testing their strength picking up heavy weights and trying to lift the nailed boards of a table top. This is also the age for target practicing with .22 caliber rifles, although hunting for small game has already begun.

857 531 532 In contrast to boys, girls generally play less impetuously and move quietly. Some examples of girls' activities have already been given. In addition the girl's fondness for representative and decorative art must be mentioned. Most girls have copybooks of crayon colored drawings, many of them conventional floral patterns such as are embroidered on moccasins. Sometimes street scenes from illustrated magazines are copied. With a stick, a girl draws extensive curvilinear designs on the level snow of a frozen lake. Another popular activity of older girls is to cut masks out of paper bags. These are bizarrely outlined and colored with lipstick and charcoal, and worn to visit neighboring camps or cabins, whose occupants the children try to frighten.

857 Boys of five and six often make themselves nuisances by teasing older girls. Such teasing leads to pushing and wrestling in which the older girl's strength often succeeds in defeating her tormentor. Teasing between the sexes continues to puberty (when it gives place to sexual provocation), and is usually conducted in a spirit of fun rather than with any intent of serious aggression.

866 Following the *period of infancy* and, as we will see, arising partly out of the emotional rejection to which the young child is subjected, there develops in children a sense of youthful responsibility, independence, and self-reliance such as is noticeably lacking among children in western society. Many attitudes of parents go to sustain these character traits. People rarely condescend to children. There is little encouragement of make believe play; even a youngster of four or five may be told that he will never catch anything by fishing with an unbaited safety pin. Parental attitudes are also not designed to encourage dependency trends. Although the child is dependent on the parents for all the necessities of life, it is rare for the latter to stress this dependence except in order to reaffirm their dominance in the socialization process. Often parents stress *their dependence on the child*, the need for his help in the present and the importance of his economic role in the future. In carrying out parents' wishes, children are not exposed to suffering loss of dignity or self-respect, such as might arise were ridicule and humiliation features of the socialization process. The independence of the young child is not frustrated by confronting him with unnecessary demands to do

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the smooth snow of a frozen lake. Games, feasts, and potlatches involved larger scale social interaction.

The tambourine drum furnished the standard musical instrument. The best toned drumheads came from the raw skin of a young moose, caribou skin being inferior because it split too easily. The rawhide was spanned across one side of a circular wooden rim, babiche lines running from the edges of the skin to tie underneath the cover. These converging lines also made a useful handle to hold the instrument. The size of drums varied but a potlatch instrument sometimes attained three feet in diameter. To tighten the drumhead a player carefully heated it over a fire. Although the Upper Liard Indians made rattles for children, such instruments were not regarded as musical instruments. Whistles, carved from willow, also constituted toys.[28]

Repetitious, wordless chants that expressed feeling and amused or entertained listeners shared a place with true songs containing words. The repertory included potlatch songs, gambling songs for stick games, love songs to serenade a sweetheart, mourning songs, and magical war chants. A shaman sang his own song while curing, and so did a man working with a maul.

The Upper Liard Indians did not dance in a circle. Rather people ranged themselves in a row and, with the arms partly raised but not directly participating in the movement, rocked the body up and down while keeping time with the feet.[29] Potlatch dancers painted their faces grotesquely and costumed themselves in sheep and wolf skins, half-finished coats, absurd headgear, and sheep horns—all provoking considerable amusement for the spectators. Wolf's-head masks might be worn by members of that moiety.

The people liked to engage in contests of strength and skill, including throwing, arrow shooting, wrestling, and racing. Adults and children played with balls made from a mass of skin sewn into a tanned-skin container. Target shooting with a bow demanded a small stick thrust in the ground as a target. In one winter sport boys threw sticks in the snow trying to make them skip like flat stones thrown across the surface of water. Young men frequently competed to see who by using his hands alone could break the hindquarter bone of a beaver. Occasionally a girl also joined the competition. The secret of breaking a beaver bone, according to an informant, lay in twisting it with great force rather than trying to break it in half. Riddles are said to have been told for amusement but none could be obtained.[30] Wrestling enjoyed wide popularity among young men but was specifically prohibited between two brothers-in-law. Young boys ran foot races on the snow of a frozen lake. Canoe races could not be recalled but an informant believed

[28] A Kaska informant knew the Tlingit to possess plank drums and to use rattles in dancing. According to Drucker, the Tlingit (including the Chilkat) used single-head tambourine, suspended wooden, and plank drums. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 197–198.

[29] Among the Tlingit "while dancing, the participants stand close together and scarcely move out of their tracks. . . . The dancing really consists of rhythmic movements of the hands, arms, head and entire body above the waist. . . . Time is measured by the beat of the drum. . . ." Men and women danced, painting the face with red or black pigments and also using masks. Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), 144.

[30] "It is interesting to note the presence of riddles among the Tahltan, a feature that has not often been reported for North American Indian tribes." Teit, *The Tahltan (Athabaskan) Work* (1913), 486.

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that sometimes dugouts engaged in such contests.[24] People played many games including blind man's bluff, which involved covering the eyes of a player with tanned skin while five or six other participants circled the blindfolded person, who sought to capture them. Both sexes of all ages played hide and seek. Sometimes an object was hidden and its discovery became the object of the game. With a raw skin available children initiated the game of drag-skin, jumping on the skin and trying to hold it back by their weight as it was being drawn by an older person. String figures called for a certain amount of skill to construct designs like a duck, crow, feet, and conical lodge from a length of tanned-skin line. Rope jumping and rope tug-of-war did not come into popularity until contact, and pole tug-of-war, skin-tossing, as well as snapping sticks, could not be recalled as amusement devices. Shamans may have used snapping sticks as part of the curing ritual. Story telling possessed educative value and constituted the pleasant responsibility of old men. A story teller might insist that the audience look him directly in the eyes. Should a young person shift his glance he would be reprimanded by the narrator remarking, "You won't be smart."[25] Private ownership did not extend to folk tales.

Gambling occurred in summer, when a number of family bands gathered together and the weather allowed players to assemble around an outdoor fire. The stick game, of which several alternative forms existed, furnished the most popular medium for betting.[26] Since the pattern of this game has already been described for the Kaska[27] the details will not be repeated here. Mainly the game took place at night, illumination coming from a well-tended fire located between the double line of kneeling players. A steady drumming furnished rhythm to which the gamblers moved hands and body as they challenged the opponents to guess in which hand the wooden token lay concealed. Women as well as men played the stick game but the sexes never competed in the same game. Forfeits consisted of whatever valuables a man chose to offer. Sometimes after playing most of the night a man lost all his resources. With the gambling fever still possessing him he might in the end bet his wife. Should he lose his bet the woman remained with the winner for two or three days before returning to her husband. Marriages rarely broke up as a result of this custom. Sometimes an old man, fearing that the woman would become accustomed to the other man, went to the winner's camp and urged the latter to send her back.

Feasts marked a number of points on the life cycle. Thus parents celebrated the birth

[24] The Tlingit organized three- to four-mile races, run by from three to five canoes. Jones, *Study of the Tlingets of Alaska* (1914), 81.

[25] A Tahltan informant, Basil Carlick, said that among his people a grandfather told many stories about fighting, murder, and warfare. Such deeds were explained as resulting from the evil nature of some men and the craziness of some women. "This was just like school, educate us so we don't lie, don't steal." Stories also possessed entertainment value and filled evenings when there was nothing else to do. "Sit down, listen, don't run around anymore," the informant said.

[26] Stick games were also a favorite form of gambling among the Tlingit. Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 443–444; Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 122–123.

[27] Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 174–175.